



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

We find nothing to invalidate, in any degree, the claim made by our government; for it appears very clearly, that they claim no territory, which before the treaty belonged either to the province of Quebec, or to Nova Scotia; that it was the intention of the treaty to preserve to those provinces the territory which previously belonged to them, and no more; that the territory, not included within the limits of those provinces, belonged before the Revolution to the Province of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, and that by the treaty of peace this territory was described by boundaries which cannot be mistaken, and by that description was declared to be within the limits of the United States. If we have dwelt more at length upon this question, than its merits might seem to require, it has been only on account of the importance it has assumed, in being made a subject of serious negotiation between the two governments, and a question of so much difficulty as to require the interposition of a third power, in the character of an umpire.

ART. VI.—*Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia.* Par MM. RENGER et LONGCHAMP, Docteurs en Medicine, Membres de la Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles. 8vo. pp. 300. Paris. 1827.

THE internal situation of the province of Paraguay, one of the most important of those which constituted the ancient vice-royalty of Buenos Aires, has been for some years past entirely unknown, not merely to the distant nations of Europe and America, but to every person not actually within its limits. Ever since the present ruler established himself at the head of the government, no individual, whether native or foreigner, had been permitted until very recently to quit the territory; and so perfectly was this system of non-intercourse carried into effect, that, as we are informed by the authors of the work before us, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires, and even of the bordering city of Corrientes, were as completely ignorant of what was passing in Paraguay, as those of New York or London. The singularity of these proceedings naturally excited much

curiosity respecting the person and character of the ruler of the province in question, who is generally known abroad under the simple appellation of Doctor Francia, although it appears from the present account that his official style is nothing less than *The Most Excellent Lord Don Joseph Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay.* This curiosity was not uninflamed, we imagine, with a certain degree of respect. Mystery excites the imagination, and, as Tacitus justly observes, we are apt to overrate the value of things unknown; *omnei gnotum pro magnifico.* It was also understood that Dr Francia had succeeded in restoring and maintaining tranquillity throughout the province under his government; and this result, by whatever means accomplished, was thought by some to argue the possession of much intellectual power and political skill. The name of Paraguay had been connected with associations of an interesting and somewhat poetical kind, from having been the seat of the celebrated missionary establishments of the Jesuits; and many persons, connecting the title of the present ruler, with the scene of his labors, had been led to suppose that he was himself one of the fathers of that order, and that he employed, in governing his province, the same machinery which had formerly been used by them with such remarkable success. This was the impression, which we had ourselves taken up respecting the Doctor; and we avow that in the simplicity of our hearts, we had given him credit for a large share of deep design and insinuating gentleness of manner, mingled with certain grains of the pious fraud and convenient mental reservation, which the Jesuits, as is well known, made no scruple to put in practice when occasion required. In the mean time, while the world was amusing itself with conjectures about his character, the Doctor on his part rigorously maintained his embargo, and closed his clutches without remorse upon every unlucky straggler, who happened in an evil hour to find his way into this vast man-trap. All the footsteps that were to be seen on the road to Paraguay pointed—like those that led to the lion's den in *Æsop*—in one direction. Among the persons detained in this way was the distinguished French naturalist Bonpland, whose fate has excited in a high degree the sympathy of the friends of science, and given additional notoriety to the strange policy to which it was owing.

In consequence of all this, the public had become at last very curious to know something more about the matter; and the appearance of the present volume, which we owe to two apparently very intelligent and enterprising Swiss physicians, Messrs Rengger and Longchamp, has been welcomed with great interest. While it removes completely the veil that so long overhung the mysterious region in question, and gives a full account of the life, character, and personal habits of its ruler, it unfortunately dissipates at the same time all the favorable presumptions that may have been formed respecting him. Instead of a mild, smooth-tongued, and politic priest, the worthy dictator turns out to be neither more nor less than a little South American Bonaparte, who has contrived to exhibit upon the theatre of a colonial province, containing hardly two hundred thousand inhabitants, substantially the same qualities which distinguished the ‘man of destiny,’ although, it must be owned, under forms somewhat less graceful and imposing. The political course of Dr Francia has in fact been evidently modelled upon that of Napoleon, as our readers will plainly see, in the sequel of this article; but as the dictator’s taste and information have not been uniformly upon a level with the high reach of his ambition, his imitation often has an air of burlesque. His dictatorship commencing at about the period when the reign of the emperor came to a close, might therefore have been looked upon as a sort of coarse and farcical afterpiece to the splendid tragedy of the French Revolution, were it not unhappily too deeply stained with blood, to be viewed in the main with any other sentiment but disgust and horror.

The subject of the volume before us is, however, on all accounts, extremely interesting, and our readers will not, we think, be dissatisfied if we lay before them a pretty full account of its contents. The authors went out to South America, for the purpose of making researches in natural history; and, landing at Buenos Aires, they proceeded up the river as far as Corrientes, which was then in possession of Artigas, and in a state of complete anarchy. Nothing was known at this place of the internal condition of Paraguay, but it was generally supposed to be much more tranquil and prosperous than the neighboring regions. Our authors, therefore, with a view of escaping from the tumult around them, as well as of prosecuting their scientific inquiries, determined to pursue still farther their voyage up the river. They found, however, pretty soon, that they had gained

very little by the change of residence, and upon their arrival at Assumption, were immediately put under embargo, and detained not less than six years. During this period, they seem to have acquired (by means which they have not thought it necessary to state in detail) a certain degree of favor with the Dictator; and finally, by great good fortune, succeeded in obtaining his permission to quit the country. They propose to publish in a separate and more extensive work their scientific and other observations upon Paraguay. The present treatise is exclusively taken up with the character and administration of the ruler. We extract from the introduction a succinct account of the circumstances under which our travellers entered the country, and of the motives which induced them to publish the work.

'On the first of May, 1818, Mr Longchamp and I embarked for Buenos Aires, intending to proceed from thence either to Chile or Paraguay. The object of this voyage was to collect further information respecting the natural history of those regions, the attainment of which we thought would be facilitated by our knowledge of medicine. On our arrival at Buenos Aires, we made some inquiries about the countries we were to visit, and decided in favor of Paraguay, as being the part of the continent which was least known, and which enjoyed the greatest degree of tranquillity. Although Dr Francia had been for many years at the head of affairs in that quarter, no one in Buenos Aires had the least idea of the form of government established there, and Paraguay was considered as the most peaceable of the provinces. On the third of August of the same year, we embarked on the Parana, and proceeded as far as Corrientes, a town situated on the left bank of that river, near its junction with the Paraguay. In the course of this voyage, which lasted some weeks, we had opportunities of observing the desolating effects of the government of Artigas. One of his lieutenants, at the head of a party of Indians belonging to the late missions of Entre Rios, being himself an Indian, was commanding at Corrientes at the time of our arrival. His depredations, which were particularly injurious to the commerce of Paraguay, had completely cut off all communication with that territory; nor was it reestablished till after an interval of eight months, when the Indians had retired. We therefore considered ourselves very fortunate in being able to quit a country which was involved in complete anarchy. There, as at Buenos Aires, no one knew anything of Dr Francia, except that he had established perfect order in the country; on which account many families had been induced to resort to it as a place

of safety against the persecutions of Artigas. Pursuing our course up the river Paraguay, we reached Assumption on the 30th of July, 1819. What was our surprise, when the persons to whom we were addressed, recommended to us the strictest circumspection as a necessary rule of conduct, without giving any further explanation! Happily for us, an Englishman of the name of Dr Parlet, made us acquainted with the character and government of Dr Francia, a circumstance of which we availed ourselves from our first audience. All that had been done by the Doctor up to that period, was however only the prelude to the grand scene, of which we were unwilling witnesses during the space of six years. I shall not enter into any details respecting our residence in Paraguay, or the occupations in which we were engaged, since this will constitute the principal subject of the narrative of our voyage and of a work on the natural history of that country. Suffice it here to say, that in May, 1825, the Dictator finally granted us permission to depart in a ship bound for Buenos Aires, and that we immediately embraced the opportunity.

'Scarcely had we passed the borders of Paraguay, when we were assailed with questions about Dr Francia. At the very doors of this province a profound ignorance prevailed as to its government. At Buenos Aires, where we made another stay of several months; at the Brazils, where contrary winds obliged us to stop; and finally in Europe, where we arrived in the beginning of May, 1826, fresh motives occurred to confirm us in our opinion, that the Doctor was there also an object of general curiosity. According to the greater or less degree of faith given by each to the fabulous and extraordinary accounts of the travellers who had visited the coasts of America, different persons had formed different notions respecting Dr Francia and his government. With some he was a sage, who from a desire to civilize his fellow citizens and preserve them from the horrors of a revolution, had separated them from the rest of the world; with others he was a usurper, whose design it was to enrich himself with the spoils of his country. Some, who observed a religious order reviving in Europe, the name of which is inseparable from that of Paraguay, thought they recognised in the person of this man of the new world, an agent of the Jesuits. In fine, the enemies of the emancipation of America were fain to behold in Dr Francia, the supporter of a fallen power, and the future avenger of the mother country.

'In order to enable the public to form a correct opinion of this mysterious personage, we have resolved to detach this first part of our voyage from the body of the narrative, and to publish it separately. Although it has been compiled by me exclusively, it is but just to observe, that the greater part of the facts have been witnessed by Mr Longchamp as well as by myself, and that they

are related by agreement between us. The best guarantee, however, that we can offer for the truth of this picture is, that nothing less than the loss of our heads would have been the consequence of any mistake that we might have made as to the character of Dr Francia. It is thus, that from motives of self-preservation, the traveller who journeys over the deserts of a great continent, is obliged, though not a naturalist, to study the habits of the tiger or the jaguar.'

After these introductory explanations the authors proceed to give a very rapid view of the early events of the revolution in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, with which our readers are generally acquainted, and upon which we need not enlarge. In the year 1810, the revolutionary government, which had just been established in the city of that name (where the viceroy had been deposed and the supreme authority committed to a junta acting in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh), despatched a small force into Paraguay, for the purpose of securing the adhesion of that province. This expedition proved unsuccessful, and the invading army, after gaining some advantages in the first instance, were afterwards completely overpowered and mostly made prisoners. A small remnant capitulated and left the country. The next year however (1811), the principal Creoles and some of the leading Spanish officers formed a conspiracy for the same general purpose, which was attended with more success. The leaders of it prevailed on the governor to assemble a convention of the principal persons of the province. Our authors say but little of the proceedings of this convention, and that little they seem to have learned from incorrect sources. We find the subject more fully treated in a Spanish manuscript account of the early events of this revolution, which we have in our possession. There appears to have been a considerable display of eloquence upon this occasion, and in the manuscript alluded to, the speeches of the governor, of the bishop (who was subsequently so strongly affected by the progress of affairs as to lose his reason), and of Don Joseph Antonio Yegros, one of the principal Creoles, are reported at great length, and perhaps with much accuracy. We learn from the same account, that there appeared at this assembly not less than seven royal governors, who had been successively appointed by different corporations, pretending to exercise the authority of the king of Spain. The convention was first called upon to decide whom it would acknowledge in this latter capacity. Upon this

question opinions were much divided, and the vote stood as follows ;

For Charles the Fourth	73
Ferdinand the Seventh	86
Joseph Bonaparte	70

Ferdinand was accordingly declared to be the legitimate monarch. The result of the deliberations of this convention was not therefore, as our authors suppose, a declaration of independence, but a formal acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Spain. The assembly next decided, by a vote of two hundred and twenty-nine to thirty-eight, that the seven royal governors and the commissioner of Buenos Aires should be furnished with passports ; that the resignation of the acting governor, Velasco, should be accepted ; and that the royal authority should be exercised by a junta, to be named by the governor himself, who does not seem, as our authors state, to have been forcibly deposed, but to have resigned of his own accord, and to have enjoyed in a high degree the esteem and confidence of the people. A junta was accordingly appointed, and immediately installed with the general approbation. It consisted of a president, two other members, and a secretary having a right to vote. Don Fulgencio de Yegros was the president, and the secretary was the future dictator, then denominated simply Dr Francia. As this is the first appearance of the Doctor on the political stage, our authors very properly introduce here an account of his origin and early life, which we extract entire.

' The history of the revolution of Paraguay being in fact the history of Dr Francia, it seems proper to give a brief account of the character and early life of this personage. His father, a native of France, went over in his youth to Portugal, and from thence to Paraguay, where he married a Creole. Although in this latter country he is considered as of Portuguese origin, the Doctor himself denies the fact, and maintains that his family is French. Having been at first intended for the church, or, according to his own expression, *condemned to study theology*, he commenced his education in the wretched schools kept by the friars of Assumption, but afterwards went to the university of Cordova del Tucuman, which was under the direction of the Franciscans since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Here he made considerable progress, and took his degree of doctor of theology ; but the study of the canon law having given him a taste for jurisprudence, he resolved on not taking orders, and became a lawyer.

‘Perhaps (at least it may be presumed from the sentiments subsequently expressed by him) the little faith he had in the dogmas of the church contributed to his adopting this resolution, no less than the taste he might have acquired for the study of jurisprudence. Besides, nothing was more common in America, than for young men who were intended for the bar to enter in the first instance upon a course of theology, as it also was for ecclesiastics, to devote themselves to the profession of the law. Upon his return to his country, Dr Francia distinguished himself by probity and undoubted integrity. He was never known to dishonor his profession by pleading an unjust cause, nor did he ever hesitate to defend the weak against the strong, or the poor against the rich. He never failed to exact considerable fees from those who were able to pay, and especially from those who were fond of lawsuits; but exhibited a singular disinterestedness when he knew that the means of his clients were scanty, or when unjust pretensions had brought them before the tribunals. Inheriting a moderate patrimony, he never sought to increase it. Half a house in town, and a little farm (*chacra*) in the country, constituted all his fortune and satisfied all his wishes. So indifferent was he to money, that finding himself one day in the possession of eight hundred dollars, and thinking such a sum a great deal too much for a single man, he carried it to the gaming-table.

‘Being of a studious disposition, rather unsociable, and uniting to a taste for study the love of licentious pleasures, he remained a bachelor. He of course was never the head of a family; he rejected all tender sentiments, and was a stranger to friendship. In fine, the little information that was to be obtained in his intercourse with his countrymen, together with their total want of literary resources, prevented him from going much into their company. To this might be owing the inflexibility of character for which he was remarkable, and which has shown itself so singularly in his administration. He was also subject to frequent attacks of hypochondria, which had the effect of producing a sort of madness; a circumstance that may the more easily be accounted for, when we consider that his father was regarded as a very eccentric man, that his brother is insane, and that one of his sisters was for a long time in the same state.

‘On arriving at manhood, Francia was elected member of the Cabildo or Council of Assumption, and subsequently held the office of alcalde. A man of his character could not but be independent even when in office, and such in fact he was both in his public and private capacity. He showed no anxiety to please either the governor or the Spaniards; and in defending his country against the pretensions of Spain, he proved as incorruptible a magistrate as he had been an upright judge. With such qualities

he could not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens.'

The administration of the junta does not seem to have been remarkably brilliant. The president Yegros and his assistants were not men of business, and passed all their time in military parades and other public and private amusements. Francia was the only effective man, but he frequently found it impossible to overcome the obstacles he met with from his colleagues; and on such occasions repeatedly retired into the country, and declared that he would have nothing more to do with the government. His colleagues, who could not get on without him, were then compelled to give way, and persuade him by compliance to come back. His intentions seem to have been at this time pretty good, but he had already adopted his notion of an exclusive and independent system of administration. He concluded with Buenos Aires an arrangement of boundaries, but constantly refused to lend the least aid in the war against Spain. He was apparently more humane than his colleagues, and exerted himself occasionally with effect in preventing military executions.

This organization lasted about two years, when the junta, acting no doubt under the instigation of Francia, called another convention, which met at Assumption in 1813. This body is represented by our authors as having been very ill composed. Francia was almost the only member of it who possessed any reading or acquaintance with business, and he acquired in consequence a great influence. After a few sittings it was voted to change the form of government, and while they were casting about for the model of another, the Doctor brought forward, as a work of authority, Rollin's Roman History, one of the very few good books to be found in the country. After consulting this oracle, it was concluded to copy the model of the Eternal City, and substitute for the existing junta two annual consuls. The first choice fell, as might have been expected, on Francia, and Don Fulgencio Yegros was appointed his colleague. The former seems to have been at no great pains to conceal his intentions in regard to the degree of influence which he was to exercise in the new system. He directed two leather-bottomed armed chairs, or, as he called them, *curule seats*, to be prepared for the use of the consuls at their public sessions, on one of which was inscribed the name of *Cæsar* and on the other that of *Pompey*. On the first occasion that

offered, the worthy Doctor, as we are told by our authors, modestly installed himself in the chair of the conqueror of Pharsalia, leaving to poor Yegros the less brilliant and somewhat ominous position of his less successful rival. If there was anything malicious in this disposition of names and assignment of seats, the conduct of Francia exhibited more frankness than policy; and it is not improbable that this farcical incident was in part accidental. Be that as it may, it appears that Francia was now pretty sure of his ground. Yegros, it is true, obtained at first the command of half the troops; but it was arranged between them, that the supreme power should be exercised by each in turn for four months in succession. Cæsar's turn, *comme de raison*, came before that of Pompey, and by this ingenious stratagem, the Doctor secured to himself the first and last four months, and left for his colleague only the intervening third of the year, at the end of which the functions of both were to close.

The latter, therefore, had apparently the better right to be dissatisfied with the operation of the consular system; but as ambition is one of those appetites which grow by what they feed on, the two thirds of the supreme power which he had obtained availed nothing to Francia, while his colleague possessed the other. In 1814, at the end of the first consular year, Congress met again at Assumption to renew the government, but instead of permitting them to do this quietly, Francia proposed to them to change the constitution a second time, and dispensing with the two consuls to commit the whole executive power to a single magistrate, whom (still recurring to his favorite authority, Rollin) he advised them to designate by the title of *Dictator*. This proposition was agreed to without much difficulty, and the assembly proceeded to elect their new ruler; but here the learned Doctor found himself more at a loss. Upon sounding the dispositions of the members of Congress, he found that by some strange accident it had not occurred to these honest Creoles that the person who proposed to institute a dictatorship, a consulate, a presidency for life, a protectorate, or any such laborious and troublesome office, may in almost all cases be prevailed upon, if sufficiently pressed, to fill it himself. For want of this obvious reflection, while they were quite ready to choose a dictator, they had not considered the Doctor as a candidate, and were mostly prepared to vote for Yegros. Pitying their simplicity, and fully

aware, no doubt, that the shoulders of his colleague were not sufficiently Atlantean to support this burden, Francia prevailed upon the Congress to defer the vote till the next meeting. On the following day the subject was taken up again, and, strange as it may seem, the Doctor was again overlooked, and all eyes were turned, as before, upon Yegros, so that the would-be-dictator had no resource left but that of moving another adjournment. *The third time*, says the proverb, *never fails*. Before the next meeting the legislators of Paraguay had obtained some notion of the nature of their office, and as, to do them justice, they appear to have exhibited throughout a good deal of docility, whenever they could be brought to comprehend the Doctor's intentions, they now passed over Yegros, and voted unanimously for Francia.

It may not be improper to add, for the better understanding of these proceedings, that the deliberations of the Congress were assisted at this third meeting, by the presence of a strong guard of honor, which, by order of the learned Doctor, surrounded the church where the assembly was held. It cannot be doubted that the attention thus shown by this careful magistrate to the security and respectability of the proceedings, contributed greatly to enlighten the Congress of Paraguay, in regard to his qualifications for the dictatorship. It is known that similar precautions have had an equally good effect at certain critical periods in the history of other countries, and particularly on a late occasion, when a person who calls himself the *Liberator* (in better English *Deliverer*) was spontaneously chosen president for life of the republic of Peru, in consequence of having taken the trouble to inform the members of Congress, on the night before the election, that such as did not vote for him would be thrown into prison, and to shoot General Nicochea and a few other distinguished patriots *pour encourager les autres*. The Deliverer, we may remark, *en passant*, appears to have forgotten that the new lights, which are made to burst upon the vision of mere civilians by military guards and executions, uniformly vanish when the troops are withdrawn; and having imprudently set off upon a journey of two or three thousand miles for the purpose of *delivering* the Colombians in the same way, had the mortification to find his disciples in Peru relapsing, the moment his back was turned, into their former stupidity, and becoming again as insensible as ever to the beauties of the Bolivian Code, and the pretensions

of its author to be president for life of all the republics, present and to come, in Spanish America. It has been noticed, as one of the singularities in the character of Washington, that his method of delivering republics was different, and that in reasoning with Congress upon the various topics of public interest which he had occasion from time to time to discuss with them, he never found it necessary to recur to the species of argument, which has since been used with so much temporary success at Assumption and Lima.

To return, however, from the Deliverer of Colombia to the Dictator of Paraguay (no very violent transition), it appears that his competitor, Yegros, was not at first as fully satisfied with the new arrangement as might have been wished. The portion of the army under his command exhibited a disposition to resist by force the authority of the new dictator, and there was some danger, for the moment, of a civil war. *Fortunately* (say our authors, we do not exactly see why,) an officer named Caballero, who commanded under Yegros, and who had great influence with the troops, although a personal enemy of Francia, exerted himself with success in appeasing the revolt. As a reward for his services on this occasion, he was arrested three or four years after by order of the Dictator, under pretext of being implicated in some conspiracy, real or supposed, and in order to escape the ignominy of a public execution, committed suicide in prison. The Dictator was elected in the first instance for the term of three years. The following extract will show the character of the measures, which he adopted for the purpose of confirming his authority, and of obtaining at the end of this term a reappointment for life.

‘As soon as Dr Francia found himself at the head of the republic, he established his residence in the house which had formerly been occupied by the Spanish governors. His first care was to reform his own manner of life; gaming and women were renounced for ever, and since this time he has exhibited the greatest austerity in his habits. The morning was passed in transacting business. The superior officers, the military commandants, and the Alcaldes were summoned to receive orders; private persons, who had any petition to present or complaints to prefer, were admitted to an audience, and the workmen, who were employed by government, attended to receive their instructions from the Dictator himself. His daily walk was on the parade. In the evening he employed his hours of leisure in reading, especially

such French authors as could be obtained in the country, having learned French a short time before the revolution. The belles-lettres, history, geography, and mathematics were by turns the object of his studies. The knowledge of medicine being very limited in Paraguay, he read Tissot and Buchan, and practised upon himself according to their prescriptions. He used to take particular interest in the perusal of an old treatise on the arts and professions; and drew from this source the information of which he has subsequently made so extraordinary an application. But to acquire a knowledge of the art of war was his favorite object; for he felt conscious that the political existence of the country, and even his own, depended on his manner of organizing the armed force. In order to provide himself with the necessary materials, he established a monopoly of timber, an article in great demand at Buenos Aires, only permitting it to be exported by those who furnished him with arms and warlike stores. At a later period this system was made to comprehend every branch of commerce; and by means of licenses he procured everything he stood in need of, while at the same time he secured, by granting them, the attachment of the public officers and merchants, who wished for a share in these advantages.

'In the army, he began by removing, under various pretexts, such of the officers as gave him umbrage or seemed to have too much influence with the soldiery. These were for the most part ignorant of the duties of their profession, and had been the authors of various disturbances; but the real motive for their dismissal was, that they belonged to good families. The Dictator was by no means inclined to employ men who might consider themselves citizens as well as soldiers. The new officers were not in general men of greater ability, but such as could only by his aid expect to rise from the low condition in which he found them. He dismissed in like manner all the soldiers of whose opinions he had any doubt, and replaced them by fresh recruits. Having taken these measures, he proceeded to organize various corps, exercised them every day, and subjected them to a severe discipline. This discipline, however, was observed only while the soldiers were under arms, or in their quarters; at all other times they were under no control. The Dictator was sole judge over the military; but knowing how necessary they were to him, he treated them with great consideration. A body of grenadiers composed his guard, and at the same time performed the duty of *gens-d'armes*. By their means he communicated his orders to the environs, summoned the persons whom he had to speak with, and caused his arrests to be put in execution. In this way they came to be the terror of the place; particularly when for the sake of gratifying the Dictator they acted as his spies. As the

sergeant of the guard was the person who introduced those, who wanted an audience, it was necessary to be in his good graces in order to be announced. These grenadiers were not well acquainted with the Spanish language, and were therefore incapable of delivering with precision the orders of which they were bearers, or the answers given to them by individuals; hence misunderstandings arose, which were considered as acts of disobedience, and punished accordingly.

‘In the civil administration, the Dictator made at first no material change. He contented himself with removing all men of independent spirit, and put creatures of his own in their places. He took upon himself exclusively the nomination of the cabildos and alcaldes, who, being originally the defenders of the rights of the people, were now converted into the servile instruments of despotism. He increased the number of circles or *comandancias*, which form the territorial division of Paraguay, and gave the administration of them to men who were devoted to his interests. He even changed the *zeladores*, a sort of subaltern police officers, whose care it was to watch over the public tranquillity. The religious orders also attracted his attention; here at least he effected a salutary reform by abolishing the Inquisition, of which there was a commission in the capital. The bishop having been affected by this event to such a degree as to lose his reason, the Dictator forced him to resign his powers to the Vicar-General (*Provvisor*), who then assumed the government of the diocese under the direction of Francia. Processions and the performance of divine service by night were prohibited, as tending to produce suspicious meetings.

‘All these changes were not effected at once. The Dictator allowed his measures to keep pace with the growth of his power, and in the beginning had even a certain regard to appearances. His orders were less absolute, and he seemed anxious to justify them in the eyes of the public. In private he was more affable, and received visits of politeness from the civil functionaries, officers, and other persons of distinction. He did not then think it a disparagement to his dignity to offer them seats, nor did he oblige them to remain standing all the time that he was speaking to them, as was afterwards the case.

‘In the mean time the three years of his dictatorship were on the point of expiring, and a new Congress was to assemble in 1817; but Francia took care that it should be composed of creatures of his own, employing for this purpose the commandants of the circles, and caused himself to be created Perpetual Dictator. Being once installed in this office, he acted without disguise, and soon undeceived his fellow citizens in regard to the nature of the power with which they had entrusted him. Some caricatures,

ridiculing his person, were pasted up at the corners of the streets. Those who had made them attributed them to the Spaniards, but Francia was not to be deceived, and ordered the real authors to be arrested and put in irons without any form of trial. As this measure only affected individuals who were not liked, and who had the name of being turbulent, their condemnation produced but little sensation in the public mind, and the less as since the time of the Spaniards, people were accustomed to see the government act as judge in its own cause. About this time an ancient colonel of Buenos Aires, named Valta Vargas, a native of Paraguay, was also put under arrest on suspicion of conspiring against the Dictator. This imprisonment was followed by several others, which however afforded no light upon the subject, although the incident served to increase in some degree his severity and distrust. From that time forward, when he went out on horseback, he used to be escorted by hussars ; two before and one behind. It was their duty, in the first instance, to make the passengers keep to the sides of the streets as the Dictator passed. Afterwards they were directed to drive off roughly all who stood in the way. The sabre blows that were distributed on these occasions soon cured people of their curiosity, and thence forward the progress of the Dictator through the city was like traversing a desert.'

In the above account of the successive steps by which Dr Francia attained his present elevation, or as Shakspeare expresses it,

‘The base degrees by which he did ascend,’

our readers will have noticed the analogy which we have already pointed out between his political course and that of Napoleon. The measures employed by both are no doubt such as are naturally suggested by the circumstances in which they stood, and might with some variations be repeated on different occasions, without any actual imitation. But in this instance the resemblance of names and incidents is too minute to be other than intentional. The transition from a democratic to a consular, and afterwards to a dictatorial or imperial government ; the means used for gaining the assent of the legislative bodies ; the contemptuous treatment of the inferior consul ; all these circumstances, with others, which we need not recapitulate, prove that the Doctor had his eye upon a model of more recent date than the one described by Rollin. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the remarks which he made on the character of

Napoleon, at his first interview with our authors, which is described in the following extract. It would seem, that the Dictator had been somewhat less successful in copying the costume of his famous prototype than his conduct. We are told by our authors, that he had mistaken a German caricature of Napoleon, which had accidentally fallen into his possession, for a correct likeness, and had been led in consequence to provide himself, as a part of his official dress, with one of those immense cocked hats, which the caricaturists, probably from a spirit of contradiction, have generally substituted for the uncommonly small and low three-cornered beaver, habitually worn by the 'man of destiny.'

' In September, 1818, we arrived at Corrientes, where we were forced to make a stay of eight months, nor did we succeed in obtaining from the authorities of that place permission to embark for Paraguay till May, 1819, when communications were finally re-established. It is from this period, that the events of which we have been eye-witnesses take their date; those which have been previously related are only the result of such information as during my residence in the country, I was able to obtain from the best authorities. On the thirtieth of July we landed at Assumption, and a few days afterwards were presented to the Dictator. He is a man of middling size, regular features, and the fine black eyes peculiar to the natives of South America, with a penetrating look expressive of distrust. On that day he had on his official dress, which was the uniform of a Spanish brigadier, that is, a blue gold-laced coat, white waistcoat and breeches, white silk stockings, and shoes with gold buckles. So splendid an equipment could not fail to excite our surprise, after having just seen the half naked condition of Artigas and his lieutenants. Dr Francia was then about sixty years of age, although he did not appear to be above fifty. He asked me several questions, with an air of superiority, and apparently with the intention of embarrassing me, but he soon after assumed a different tone. On my opening a portfolio to look for the papers I had to present to him, he perceived a portrait of Bonaparte, which I had placed there on purpose, knowing his admiration for the original. He took it up, and, on being told whom it represented, examined it with great interest. He then entered familiarly into conversation on the subject of the political affairs of Europe, with which I found him much better acquainted than I could have expected. He asked for news about Spain, and expressed the highest contempt for that country. The constitution of Louis the Eighteenth was not to his taste, and he gave a decided preference to the military government of Napoleon, of whose fall he spoke with regret. I

remarked, that in conversing upon his reign, he dwelt with pleasure on such circumstances as seemed to have any analogy with his own situation. He reproached us, as Swiss, with our wretched campaign of 1815, and applied to us the fable, in which the dying lion receives a kick from a certain long-eared animal. But the principal topic of his conversation was the friars, whom he accused of pride, depravity of manners, and a disposition to intrigue. He declaimed violently against the tendency visible in the clergy in general to resist the authority of government. In order to give us a more perfect idea of his principles in this respect, he declared that if the Holy Father himself were to come to Paraguay, he should be nothing more than his chaplain. He appeared to anticipate the return of fanaticism and superstition in Europe, and insisted on the necessity of crushing the monastic spirit in time before America became infected with this new contagion. The reëstablishment of the Jesuits in Europe, which we announced as being realized in part, seemed to him incredible; so great was, in his opinion, the folly of this measure. When we mentioned the emancipation of America, he at once discovered the ardor of his devotion to the cause, and declared his fixed resolution to defend it against all enemies. The ideas which he expressed in regard to the mode of governing these new nations, in their present imperfect state of civilization, appeared to me very correct; but unfortunately he has made no application of any of them in his own country. He condescended to show us his library, which, though small, is the only one in Paraguay. We there saw, by the side of the best Spanish authors, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Rollin, Laplace, &c. which he had procured since the revolution. He had also some mathematical instruments and geographical charts, and among these the most correct map of Paraguay to be found in the country. It was made by Don Felix de Azara, at the time of the demarcation of the boundaries, which took place during the last twenty years of the preceding century, and presented by the author to the Cabildo of Assumption. It has never been published. As the Dictator was sometimes seen studying the celestial globe, and by means of his map displayed a perfect knowledge of the country without ever having travelled over it, the inhabitants were persuaded, that he conversed with the stars. He has, however, never availed himself of this circumstance to impose upon their credulity; but on the contrary exerts himself in removing the prejudices, which his countrymen have imbibed. He dismissed us with the following words—"Do what you please, profess what religion you choose; no one shall molest you; only take care not to meddle with the affairs of my government." This advice we did not fail to follow, and on his part the Dictator

faithfully kept his word. On taking my leave, I left the portrait of Bonaparte on the table, thinking that it would be acceptable to him. He, however, sent it back to me with an officer, who was directed to ask me what I would take for it. As I did not like to set a price on an article in itself of little value, and as the Dictator made it a rule never to accept presents, the portrait remained in my possession. I was the more surprised at this from the circumstance of his having shown me in his cabinet a caricature, published at Nuremberg, which represented his hero, and which he in good earnest considered as a portrait, till I explained to him a German inscription, that was at the foot of this wretched print, on which he seemed to set so great a value. It was doubtless this caricature that suggested to him the idea of assuming as a part of his dress the enormous *chapeau-bras*, in which Bonaparte was there represented.'

The following extract, which forms the last chapter of the work, describes the personal habits of Francia, and seems to come in naturally in connexion with the above passage.

'In order to finish the portrait of the personage, who is the chief subject of the present essay, I now proceed to give some details of his domestic life; and shall add some facts for which a place could not be found before, and which seem well calculated to explain the character of this extraordinary man.

'It has been already mentioned that Dr Francia, as soon as he had the sole direction of the public affairs, took up his lodgings in the residence of the former governors. This building is one of the largest in Assumption; it was constructed by the Jesuits a little before their suppression, and was used by them as a house for retreat, in which the lay brothers performed certain religious exercises prescribed by St Ignatius. The Dictator had it repaired, and gave to the exterior of it an air of elegance not usual in the country, and opening wide streets all round, made it stand apart from the other houses. His establishment consists of four slaves, namely, a negro boy, a mulatto man, and two mulatto women. One of the latter superintends the kitchen, and the other has charge of the wardrobe. In his habits he is extremely regular. The first rays of the sun hardly ever find him in bed. As soon as he rises, the negro brings a chafing dish, a tea-kettle, and a pitcher of water, which is heated in his presence. The Dictator then prepares, with his own hands and with all possible care, his *maté* or Paraguay tea. Having taken this, he walks awhile in an inner gallery which looks out upon the court, and smokes a cigar, taking care first to unroll it lest it should contain anything poisonous, although his cigars are made by his own sister. At six o'clock comes the barber, a dirty, ill dressed, drunken mulatto,

who, however, is the only one of the faculty, in whose hands the Dictator will trust himself. If in good humor, he will condescend to chat with this person, and often prepares the public through his means for the projects he has in contemplation ; thus making him his official gazette. After this, having put on a calico morning-gown, he takes a turn in the outer gallery, which goes all round the house, and receives such individuals as have been admitted to an audience. At seven o'clock he retires to his cabinet, and remains there till nine. The military and civil officers then make their appearance, to give in their reports and receive orders. At eleven the *fiel de fecho* brings in the papers that are to be presented to him, and writes *à la dictée* till twelve. At this hour the secretaries retire, and Francia sits down to table. His dinner is frugal, and is prepared according to his own directions. On her return from market, the cook lays out the articles purchased before the door of her master's cabinet, who, on coming out, sets apart the things he intends for his own use. After dinner he takes his *siesta*, and then his *maté* and cigar, as in the morning. He then attends to business till four or five, when the escort arrives to accompany him on his ride. The hair-dresser now attends him while the horse is saddling. This being done, the Dictator goes out to visit the public works or the barracks, especially those of the cavalry, in which he has apartments for his reception. In these excursions, although attended by an escort, he goes armed not only with a sabre, but with a pair of double-barreled pocket pistols. On his return home about nightfall he applies himself to his studies. At nine he takes his supper, which consists of a roast pigeon and a glass of wine. If the weather be fine, he then takes another walk in the gallery, which he sometimes does not quit till very late. At ten he gives the order for the ensuing day; and, upon retiring to rest, locks with his own hands all the doors of the house. During several months in the year he resides at the barracks of the cavalry, which are situated out of the town, about a quarter of a league from his ordinary residence; and here his manner of life is the same, except that from time to time he goes out to hunt. In all the rooms which he occupies, there are arms within reach; pistols are suspended from the walls, or placed by his side at table; and sabres, generally unsheathed, are to be found in every corner. Precautions of the same kind are observed in the etiquette prescribed for giving audience. The person admitted is not to approach the Dictator nearer than six paces, until invited by him, and even then not nearer than three. He must let his arms hang down in a line with his body, and the hands in the same position, and open, that it may be seen that they conceal no weapon. Neither civil nor military officers must presume to appear before him with swords by their sides. Never-

theless he likes that people should look at him while speaking to him, and that their answers should be prompt and decisive. One day he desired me to ascertain, by examination, whether the natives of Paraguay had not a bone too much in their necks, which prevented them from lifting up their heads and speaking out.

‘At the beginning of a conversation he always tries to intimidate, but when his first onset is sustained with firmness, he becomes more mild, and ends by conversing agreeably if in good humor. It is then that the man of superior talents may be recognised; for in the course of his conversation, which turns upon a great variety of objects, he discovers a depth of understanding, a degree of penetration, and an extent of information beyond what could be expected in one, who, it may almost be said, has never been out of Paraguay. Free from the numberless prejudices entertained by his countrymen, he often makes them the subject of his pleasantry. Thus, at an interview which I had with him, he laughed a good deal at the expense of the commandant and curate of Curuguaty, who had sent him a poor woman in chains and loaded with an enormous rosary, transmitting with her a report of her trial, from which it appeared that she was a sorceress. From this he went on to describe the various magical arts practised by the people in cases of sickness, and the cures which they attributed to them, and finished by saying, “ You may judge by this of the use of priests and religion among these people; they serve to make them believe in the devil, rather than in God.”

‘The conscience of men is a sanctuary which history itself cannot but respect; but this rule ought not to be extended to public acts, by which the supreme head of a government discloses his religious opinions. I therefore presume there will be no impropriety in mentioning, that, though in the early periods of his elevation he used regularly to hear mass on Sundays in one of the chapels of the barracks, and attended service at the cathedral on great holidays, he soon after ceased to appear at all at church, and in 1820 dismissed his chaplain. From that time he has been a stranger to every kind of worship, and has never ceased exclaiming against the established religion. One of the commandants having asked him, on some occasion, for the image of a saint, in order to place it as a patron in a fort that had been just built. “ How long,” said he, “ men of Paraguay, will you continue to be idiots? while I was a catholic, I thought as you do; but I have since discovered that cannon balls are the best saints to guard our frontiers.” In our first audience, on being informed of our religion, “ Profess whatever you please,” said he, “ be Christians, Jews, or Mahometans, but not atheists.”

‘Whenever the Dictator is seized with a fit of spleen, he either shuts himself up for several days without attending to business, or

else vents his ill humor upon everything round him. The *employés*, the officers, soldiers, all are equally exposed to ill treatment. He then launches out into invectives and threats against his enemies, real or supposed. It is on these occasions especially that he orders arrests and inflicts the severest punishments, and even thinks it a mere trifle to pronounce a sentence of death.

' The state of the weather seems to have a considerable influence upon his temper; at least it has been remarked, that when the northeast wind prevails, these fits are much more frequent. This wind, which is attended with humidity and a suffocating heat, produces frequent and sudden showers, and makes a very unfavorable impression on people of irritable nerves, or who suffer from obstruction in the liver or the lower intestines. When, however, the west wind blows, which is dry and fresh, the Dictator is generally in a pleasant state of mind. He then sings and laughs by himself, and converses agreeably with all those who approach him.

' Whatever may be said of the unevenness of his temper, there is at least one laudable quality in which he is constant, I mean his disinterestedness. No less liberal in his personal expenses than sparing of the public money, he pays in cash for everything he stands in need of. His private fortune has derived no improvement from his elevation. He never received a present, and is always in arrears for the receipt of his appointments; in this respect even his greatest enemies do him justice. On several occasions, he has proved himself no stranger to a sense of gratitude. Having one day been informed that a young man of a family of Cordova, in whose house he had been admitted in his youth, happened to be at Assumption in the greatest distress, he ordered him to be sent for, and after giving him some hundred francs, made him his secretary. He also sometimes remembers his schoolmates, and never fails to afford them his assistance when they want it. But he loses the recollection of every service, and acknowledges neither relations nor dependants, from the moment he sees anything like resistance to his authority, or a want of respect towards his person. To omit giving him the title of *Excelentísimo Señor*, is an unpardonable sin, although he himself *thous* all but foreigners; a habit which he has acquired by degrees and in proportion as his power has been confirmed. " You are to pay to me as much respect as you would to your king, and even more," said he to a foreigner, the subject of a monarch; " for I can do you more good and more harm than he can." Several of his favorites have fallen into disgrace for attempting to put themselves on too familiar a footing with him. Others have been put in irons for arrogating to themselves a power which had not been conferred. Two of his nephews, who had been officers in

the troops of the line, from the beginning of the revolution, were the first whom he dismissed from the service shortly after having got himself made dictator ; and this merely because he apprehended that they might avail themselves to his prejudice of the circumstances of their position. Hence it was, that any fault committed by them was punished with much more severity than those of the other officers ; one of them was put in irons, and kept in that state for the space of four years, for having struck some person who had insulted him at a ball ; another was confined in a public prison during a whole year for having made use of one of the musicians of a regiment in giving a serenade. In fine, his sister, the only person towards whom he ever showed any lasting attachment, and who had the care of his countryhouse, was sent home to her family for having employed a *zelador* to punish one of the slaves.

‘ It is easy to conceive that, being so extremely jealous of his authority, the Dictator could never have a confidant ; in fact, he never took the advice of any one in anything he ever did, nor can any one boast of having exercised the slightest influence over him. If then he sooner or later meet with the fate reserved for almost all oppressors of their country, he will have no one to blame but himself.’

Our authors enter at considerable length into an account of the administration of the Dictator in its several departments, but we have not room to follow them here in detail, and must refer our readers for information on these points to the work itself. The authority of Francia is sustained by a little regular army of about five thousand men, mostly cavalry, well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and stationed at the capital. As the whole population of the country is supposed to be something short of two hundred thousand souls, dispersed over a territory not less extensive than the kingdom of France, this power is amply sufficient to effect its object and to keep up a continual reign of terror. The regular troops are composed exclusively of Creole whites, who constitute about seven tenths of the population, the other three tenths being made up of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes, together with about eight hundred Spaniards. There is beside the regular army an establishment of militia, in which every individual of whatever race is enrolled upon reaching the age of seventeen, and which consists, in the whole, of twenty thousand persons. It is occasionally employed in aid of the troops, but it is on these that the Dictator places his dependence for the security of his power. To make assurance doubly sure, he has resorted to various other measures

of precaution, among which are the secularization of all ecclesiastical property, and the assumption by himself of the functions of head of the church. In this respect, he has gone one step beyond his imperial prototype, and copied the policy of Henry the Eighth of England. The bishop of the disocess, as we have already remarked, was driven to madness by these proceedings, in his opinion, no doubt, the consummation of sacrilege and tyranny, but which our authors are disposed to view with some degree of favor. For the same purpose, he interdicted all communications with foreigners, not only personal but epistolary, and for the better attainment of this object entirely suppressed the postoffice. The measures adopted for the immediate safety of his own person are not less rigid ; and when he happens to be seized with one of his habitual fits of ill humor, he is apt to carry them upon the slightest provocation to some new and extraordinary excess. On one occasion, a poor woman was sent to prison for approaching the window of his palace, and her husband, though not with her at the time, was obliged to share her fate. Not satisfied with taking this severe notice of so enormous an offence, the Dictator immediately ordered the sentinel on duty at the door to shoot every person whom he should see looking at the house. It seems that the learned Doctor concentrates in his own person the functions of commissary and quartermaster general and particular, as well as those of pope and dictator, and delivers out himself to the soldiers on guard the ammunition that is wanted. On the occasion alluded to, the Dictator, exasperated almost to madness by this failure of respect for his person (as he was pleased to consider it), the wind probably blowing fresh from the northeast, brought out a second musket charged with ball to the sentinel at the door, and addressed him as follows ; ‘If you see any body fix his eyes on this house, fire upon him. If you miss the first time, fire again,’ (handing him the second musket.) ‘If you miss a second time, I shall take care not to miss you.’ It is rather singular, that after issuing this order, he should have been so much at a loss to account for the down look of his loving subjects, as to inquire of our authors into the anatomical conformation of their necks. The fact was pretty soon known through the capital, and the citizens took good care either not to pass the giant’s castle or to look the other way. But about a fortnight after, a poor native, fresh from the country, took the liberty, in the indulgence of a not unnatural

curiosity, to turn his eyes in the prohibited direction, and was actually fired upon by the soldier on guard. The Dictator, upon hearing the report, came out to inquire what was the matter, and on learning the offence of the Indian, revoked the order, pretending to forget that he had ever issued it.

Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the Dictator has not succeeded in stifling completely the opinions of his countrymen. He has been annoyed, on the contrary, by a succession of conspiracies, formed by the most respectable and wealthy citizens; the discovery of which has led in turn to still more violent measures of prevention and punishment. It is in fact the great vice of all usurped authority, that it can only be maintained by the continual repetition of acts still more odious and sanguinary than those by which it must necessarily be acquired. The common feelings of human nature cannot be wholly overcome. They must and will break out in frequent attempts to throw off the unnatural pressure imposed upon them, while the usurper, if he succeed in defeating these, is compelled in self-defence to visit their authors with exemplary punishment. It is somewhat consoling to reflect, that even in this remote corner of christendom, inhabited by a mixed and scanty population, there has been found spirit enough to keep the tyrant in a state of continual alarm for his personal safety, and probably in the end to effect his overthrow, especially if the neighboring republic of Buenos Aires shall ever acquire stability and consistency enough to be able to aid her sister province in this good work.

Immediately after Francia declared himself dictator for life, a conspiracy against him was entered into by most of the leading citizens, in concert with an agent of Puerrydon, then supreme dictator at Buenos Aires, who came to Assumption for this purpose. The plot was maturing in secret for two years, and was to have been put in execution on Good Friday of 1820; but during the preceding Lent, one of the conspirators unluckily discovered it in confession to a friar, who ordered him to reveal it immediately to the Dictator, which he did. A number of the principal inhabitants, including the *quondam* Pompey of our new Cæsar, Don Fulgencio Yegros, were in consequence arrested and detained in close confinement. Meanwhile Ramirez, one of the independent chiefs of the neighboring country, who, after acting some time under the command of Artigas, had finally turned upon the latter, and succeeded in getting possession of the province of Entre Ríos,

previously under his government, attempted to open friendly relations with Francia, and for this purpose sent envoys to Assumption. The Dictator exhibited on this occasion much the same respect for the law of nations, which was shown by the Dey of Algiers in the case of the French consul, reported in very good verse by the late Premier of Great Britain, in the ‘Antijacobin,’ and threw the envoys into prison. Ramirez, upon this, began to place himself in a hostile attitude and entered into a secret correspondence with the discontented citizens of Paraguay, which was also unfortunately detected. Alarmed at this new enterprise, the Dictator now brought his prisoners to trial, and as they were successively convicted, parties of eight or ten of them were executed every three or four weeks for two years in succession. Their wives and relations generally shared their fate. Finally all the Spaniards in the country, to the amount of eight hundred, were sent to prison *en masse*, where a part of them died of the effects of ill treatment, and the rest were only released upon the payment of such contributions as reduced them to ruin. The victims of these inhuman proceedings generally exhibited a manly firmness, highly honorable to the national character, and our authors mention a number of interesting anecdotes of the conduct of the sufferers, which we would gladly extract did our limits allow it.

The ultimate result of these continual prosecutions was, however, to break, for the time, the spirits of the people, and to plunge the whole community into a sort of gloomy despondency. These people, say our authors, naturally not very communicative, now lived entirely apart from each other. There were no more social meetings or entertainments. Even the women lost their privilege of talking, and the guitar, before the inseparable companion of the Paraguays, became silent. There ensued a sort of blank desolation and stupor, which ended in making every one insensible to any misery but his own. If a man fell under the Dictator’s displeasure he was, as it were, struck with a curse. Nobody could visit him without exciting suspicion. Every one who sought to communicate with a state prisoner was immediately arrested. This happened to several wives, who had said a few words through a grate to their husbands. While terror thus reigned in the capital, the other cities and the country were not better off. Under pretext of taking precautions against rebellion, the civil and military authorities committed the most arbitrary acts, and

thus avenged themselves on the people for the base submission they were obliged to show to the Dictator. Fines, imprisonments, and executions succeeded each other without intermission, and the subalterns pursued their course with perfect freedom, for they knew that the Dictator was inaccessible to remorse or pity.

Among the measures of Francia, which our authors are disposed to regard with some degree of favor, are his attempts to improve the internal condition of the country and to encourage agriculture and manufactures. But however laudable the object, the means employed by the Dictator for effecting it are, we fear, such as would ill suit the taste of our public; and with all our zeal in the cause of improvement we should certainly object to their use in this country. Terror seems to be the only instrument resorted to by the ruler of Paraguay in this, as in every other part of his administration. Wishing to encourage the manufacture of leather belts, he directed, as a preliminary step, that a gallows should be raised before the door of his principal shoemaker. This being done, he sent him the order for the article wanted, with a proviso that if it were not executed to his mind, the workman should be forthwith hanged. On another occasion he sent a blacksmith to the galleys for finishing, as he thought, in a slovenly way, one of the screws belonging to a gun carriage. But the most extensive and remarkable operation of this description was the attempt of the Dictator to improve the appearance of his capital. It was the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and should leave it of marble. Our new Cæsar having succeeded so well in copying the example of the first of the name, was probably encouraged to imitate the second. It seems to have been his first object, in carrying this plan into effect, to convert the city into a heap of ruins, and thus far he has to all appearances admirably succeeded. Whether he will be equally fortunate in the second and not less important part of the undertaking, that of building it up again in a better form, is still uncertain. The following extract, which contains an account of these proceedings, may also interest the reader, by the description it gives of a place but little known abroad.

'A calamity of a different kind now befell the capital, for which it was indebted to the Dictator. It will be recollected, that at the time of discovering the conspiracy of 1820, he entertained the idea of rendering the city more regular, which however was

not then realized, as he had fixed on no particular plan for the purpose. Assumption is built on a declivity, in some parts rather rapid, and bordering on the river Paraguay. The streets are crooked, irregular, and for the most part so narrow, that they might more properly be called lanes. The houses being of one story only, and generally separated from each other by the interposition of trees, shrubs, little gardens, and grass plots, present the appearance of a village rather than a city. Springs of water, gushing out on all sides, form rivulets, and make the ground marshy, while the rain-water, in its descent down the declivity, has cut furrows in the greater part of the streets. Such was the town which the Dictator undertook to divide into quarters or wards, without paying the least regard to the damage that must accrue to the inhabitants. The place certainly stood in need of a better distribution and the streets required to be made larger and to be kept cleaner, but the disposition of the houses and the vegetation that surrounded them were, as regards salubrity as well as convenience, well suited to a tropical climate and a sandy soil. In 1821 he commenced laying out streets in the part of the town which was least populous, making them run from N. W. to S. E. with others crossing them from N. E. to S. W., all from thirty-five to forty feet wide. These new streets served as a rule to go by in the opening of other parallel ones through the whole city. There was a space of about a hundred paces between each of them, although when a public building happened to lie in the way this space was reduced or augmented, as the case required. The same privilege, however, was not extended to private houses. When a new street was to be opened, the Dictator would point out to his master mason, who was also his engineer, the direction in which he was to drive the stakes, and sometimes superintended this operation personally when he took his afternoon's walk. After this he used to send to the proprietors of the houses which stood upon the line the order for pulling them down; yet this was only a preliminary measure, serving to facilitate the execution of his plan, for the ultimate direction of the street, in passing from one side to the other of the demolished houses, rendered further devastation unavoidable. In this way did ignorance and arbitrary power unite to desolate the capital; and many buildings which would finally have been found to stand not more than twenty-five or thirty feet within the line drawn, were devoted to destruction. The rubbish of these ruins was employed in levelling the streets and filling up the furrows and other sinuosities of the soil, and where the declivity was too great, it was corrected by means of steps. Three new squares were made, and an old one was enlarged, and, finally, to render the streets dry, the Dictator obliged the proprietors of grounds where springs of water existed to stop them up.

These supposed improvements went on but slowly ; for it often happened, that a fall of rain would destroy in one night the labor of a fortnight, and it repeatedly became necessary to begin the whole work over again. The streets were not paved, and the water which poured upon them in torrents in the rainy season would wash away the materials used for levelling them and open fresh ravines in an incredibly short space of time. In consequence of these proceedings many houses now no longer stood upon a level with the street, the foundations of a great number had been sapped by the rain, and some of them tumbled to the ground from the water having penetrated beneath them and removed the light soil on which they stood. Others were undermined by the springs, which had been filled up, and which naturally sought a new outlet. In a word, so great was the destruction, that at the end of four years, the capital of Paraguay had all the appearance of a town which had suffered a bombardment of several months. Nearly half the buildings had disappeared, the streets were bordered with hedges of dry stakes, and of the houses that remained scarcely any presented an entire front. As it appeared to the Dictator that further changes might be necessary, the erecting of new houses was only permitted in the more remote parts of the town. In the mean time it was his intention, after paving the principal streets, to oblige the rich inhabitants of the country to construct other houses in such spots as he should determine, in order to rebuild the town ; and he actually laid the foundations of several with the idea of their being afterwards sold to them. He used to say that the place in future should be inhabited by Paraguays and not by the Spaniards, who till then had been in possession of the best houses. There was nothing to check his progress—he had only to command ; so that it may be presumed he will experience no more difficulty in rebuilding the new town than he had in destroying the old one. He caused several hundred houses to be pulled down, without making any kind of indemnification to the owners, or giving himself the least trouble about what became of them or their families. Each individual was obliged to demolish his own dwelling. If he pleaded a want of the necessary means, the convicts were directed to do it for him, and were allowed to carry away with them whatever they pleased.

Although no expense whatever was incurred in reimbursing the proprietors, yet it will naturally be presumed, that this undertaking cost the state considerable sums. The Dictator, however, only paid the master workmen, and for the execution of the work employed a few hundred convicts. The peasants furnished the materials, at their own expense, and when the work to be performed lay out of the capital, they were required to send laborers.

It was in this way that all the forts on the frontiers were erected, as also various barracks and other buildings at Neembucu, Assumption, and Villa Real. In this way, too, several new roads were opened through the forests, and others which had been injured by the rains were repaired and enlarged; and, in fine, it was by this means that the Dictator was enabled to collect at the capital a large quantity of materials, to be employed in the erection of some forty houses, which were to be let for account of the state. The people of the country were every hour called away from the labors of the field by requisitions, either of their persons or their cattle; in addition to which the *leva* or impressment, an ancient Spanish custom, is frequently practised, and by means of it are assembled men, beasts, carts, utensils, and whatever else is to be found in the streets of a nature to be employed in any sort of work. At Assumption the officers, and even common soldiers, avail themselves of this practice for their own account; and although this is done without the knowledge of the Dictator, the effects resulting from it are not the less injurious, since the peasants are thereby prevented from coming into town to sell their productions.'

We believe, that we have now given to the Dictator of Paraguay nearly as much space as he has a right to claim, or as our readers will think him entitled to. Before we leave the subject it may be proper to mention the circumstances, under which our authors obtained permission to depart. They are detailed in the following extract, which also gives some additional particulars of the personal habits and conversation of Francia.

'At the beginning of the year, 1825, the Dictator received from Mr Parish, his Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, the notification of a treaty of commerce, which had just been concluded between England and that republic, one of the most important results of which was to be the recognition of the republics of South America. On making this communication, Mr Parish requested, that the English merchants who might be at Paraguay, should be permitted to depart with their property. The news of this recognition had its effect. The Dictator ordered the English to put their ships in readiness, but allowed them to be manned by foreigners and negroes only. He also prohibited the exportation of any other articles but such as they had been able to procure with their own funds. Thus a vessel, which had been sold upon credit by a Spaniard to an Englishman, was confiscated and lost to the former, who was ignorant of this prohibition. They took their departure in the months of March and April. The Dictator, in order to justify the captivity of the British, wrote to Mr Parish, by the first vessel that sailed, saying that

his Britannic Majesty's subjects had only shared the fate, which the force of circumstances had imposed upon all the inhabitants of Paraguay, and that as they had come of their own accord, and without being sent for, they could have no reason to complain.

' In allowing the English to depart, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of having yielded to necessity. He accordingly authorized Don José Tomas Ysaci, a Paraguay by birth, to go upon the same voyage with two brigs. This gentleman, who was one of the first merchants of Paraguay, had paid us every attention, and in addition to the various proofs he had given us of his friendship, he now offered to convey us to Buenos Aires, in case we could obtain our passports. This then was the moment for making such a request to the Dictator, especially as other foreigners were allowed to depart. On the twenty-seventh of March I called on him for this purpose ; but he was engaged, and I retired. He, however, called me back almost immediately and desired to know what I wanted, but, without giving any answer to my petition, directed me to go and examine some forty recruits who had just been taken ill. Having made this visit, I returned to give an account of it. He then addressed several questions to me on the subject of my travels in the interior of Paraguay and my intention of publishing the result of my observations. The recognition of the new republics by England seemed to give him great satisfaction, and in speaking of it he observed, that the French had done wrong to allow themselves to be forestalled by the British. "The analogy," said he, "in the character of the two nations, the identity of religion, and the nature of the products of French industry seemed to demand the establishment of such relations, and the commerce of France would have been made to flow by their means through a new and most important channel. But this government, instead of signalizing itself by an act of liberality, which would have been quite in conformity with the interests of the nation, has preferred supporting a tottering throne by means of a ruinous expedition, the effect of which can only be to retard its downfall. With me it would not be a matter of surprise to see them attack our republics in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, and this is one of my reasons for not allowing the departure of the French. As respects your case, I shall take it into consideration." Nearly two months elapsed before I obtained the reply of the Dictator to my request and before the ships of Mr Ysaci, which had been ready ever since the beginning of May, got permission to sail.

' Under these circumstances, I began to lose hopes of being able to profit by this opportunity for leaving Paraguay, and the more so as the Dictator had intimated to me his design of giving me forthwith the inspection of the troops that were to be brought

into actual service, as also the direction of a new military hospital, which he was about to establish, in regard to the situation of which it would be necessary that I should be consulted. At length, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, the Dictator furnished the necessary papers for the departure of one of the brigs of Mr Ysaci, and gave an order for her sailing at one P. M. At eleven an officer brought me my passport and that of Mr Longchamp, with an order on the public treasury, in payment for the services I had rendered the state, as a physician, to which was added a license, not often granted, for exporting the cash. The short space of two hours was all the time we had for arranging our affairs and packing up our collections of natural history, which consisted in a great measure of very delicate objects; but there was no room for hesitation, nor any other alternative but to go at once or run the risk of not getting out of Paraguay till after the death of the Dictator. We, therefore, set about packing, in a hasty manner, a part of our collections and most necessary effects, leaving the rest under the care of persons of confidence, and went on board the vessel, which immediately weighed anchor. We departed at the appointed hour, followed by the good wishes of a multitude of spectators, who upon this occasion had assembled on the quay.

‘A French navy officer, Captain Hervaud, who had come to Assumption in 1821, with the command of one of the ships of Mr Ysaci, embarked with us. This worthy man, who, by the effect of three shipwrecks, had lost a considerable fortune, believed himself doomed to remain prisoner for life at Paraguay, when Mr Ysaci, by representing the age, the misfortunes, and the prudent conduct of this officer, succeeded in obtaining from the Dictator the permission to place him on the list of the ship’s crew. Another, though a less agreeable part of our company, were five friars whom the Dictator would not allow to be secularized, and who were now sent out of the country. Five more, who were taken out of the state prison, were disposed of in the same manner, and embarked on board a vessel belonging to Mr José de Maria, which was to sail the following day.

‘Thus, after residing six years at Paraguay, four of them against our wills, we were suffered to leave the country. It is but doing justice to Dr Francia to declare, that in all this time he never threw any obstacles in the way of our pursuits, but that, on the contrary, he has more than once showed us marks of kindness. Happy should I be, were it in my power to say as much of his administration. As respects the inhabitants of Paraguay, Creoles as well as Spaniards, their general conduct towards us was such as to give us the greatest satisfaction, and we shall at all times entertain a grateful remembrance of the hospitable reception which they gave us.’

The general result of the information conveyed by the entertaining little work before us, seems to be, that the fine province of Paraguay is now laboring under a most ruthless and sanguinary system of oppression; and that the spirits of the people are so completely crushed, that there is but little chance of their obtaining relief by their own unassisted exertions. It cannot be doubted, however, that the republic of Buenos Aires, to which Paraguay naturally belongs, will seize the first moment of recovered tranquillity to come to the assistance of her unfortunate neighbor. In the mean time we cannot but hope, that the sentiment of mingled horror and disgust with which these disclosures of the character and proceedings of Francia have been received throughout the civilized world, will have some effect in deterring such of the other revolutionary leaders of Spanish America as may have formed projects similar to those which he has executed, from carrying them into full effect. The friends of humanity and liberty will have reason to regret the separation of these colonies from the mother country, if they have only exchanged a foreign yoke, however oppressive, (and oppressive it was to an extent of which the public was hardly aware until the appearance of the late authentic work of Juan and Ulloa) for the bloody, and at the same burlesque despotism, of such characters as the Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of Paraguay.

Our authors allude, at the close of their Preface, to a succession of paragraphs respecting the political situation of Paraguay, which have appeared in the French newspapers from time to time during the last two years, and have, we believe, been in part reprinted in those of our own country. They furnish a curious instance of *mystification*; and we extract with the more readiness what is said upon the subject in the present work, as we are able to add some further particulars from our own knowledge.

‘As the reader may be surprised not to find anything in this work corresponding with the accounts lately given of Paraguay in the newspapers, it seems necessary to give some explanations upon this subject. It was in the *Mémorial Bordelais* that these accounts were first published, and they subsequently appeared in the greater part of the continental journals.

‘Dr Francia was represented at first as governing in the name of the queen dowager of Portugal. Afterwards it was insinuated, that the emperor Don Pedro had made overtures to the Dictator for the union of Paraguay with the Brazils, and that the latter in the

mean time was negotiating at Madrid, where he had commissioners. Some time after was brought forward one of his envoys named Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, and Generalissimo of the army of Paraguay. Finally, Dr Francia was said to have abdicated in favor of this marquis, to have committed the reins of government during his absence to the Secretary Zapidas, and to have retired to Villa Real del Pilar. But all of a sudden, and without any one knowing how, he was seen to reappear at the head of the government, proclaiming the independence of Paraguay, assembling and presiding over a congress of provinces, some of which belong to the Upper Peru, and others to the confederation of the river La Plata, and ultimately declaring war against the Brazils.

The frequency of these communications, coming from a country that lay under an interdict, was well calculated to excite surprise, more especially as the merchants of Buenos Aires who were most interested in these changes, were entirely ignorant of them, as also the English editors. For myself I saw at once the apocryphal character of these reports (of which I have only mentioned a few); for independently of the numerous contradictions which they contain, they are in themselves evidently false. All the names mentioned in them are misapplied. There never was in Paraguay any person of the name of Le Fort or any Marquis of Guarany, no more than a Bernardo Zapidas, or a Galician called Abendano, who, for having been concerned in an insurrection, was to have been shot. As respects the brother and brother-in-law of the dictator, who were said to have accompanied him to Villa del Pilar, the first is in a state of insanity and the other is kept in irons. After this, let the reader determine what degree of credit he ought to give to the accounts of the twenty thousand regular troops, of the navy, the legions, the generalissimo, the commodore, the supreme tribunal of justice, the superior board of finance, the deputies of the departments and the rich exports, which have afforded so much matter to the paragraphs alluded to, since they are deficient in every circumstance, even in the general notions of geography, necessary to give them an air of truth. One of the facts stated, however, admits of no doubt. A self-styled envoy of Dr Francia, calling himself Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, has in fact appeared at Madrid. May not this person have been the author of this long *mystification*, of which the newspapers were the involuntary instruments, and have resorted to it for want of other means to accredit his mission? At first he was, as I have been assured, very well received by the government; but the imposture being no doubt discovered, he found it necessary to break off the negotiations and quit Spain, as is stated in one of the abovementioned articles.

‘From the last letters which have reached me from Buenos Aires, I have reason to believe that Paraguay continues in the same state as when we left it. The communications with that country have even become more difficult, for the vessel that brought us over has not been able to obtain permission to return to it.’

The article alluded to in the above extract, which mentions the departure of the *soi-disant* Marquis de Guarany from Spain, is not more correct than the rest of the series, and we are able to state from our own knowledge, that the person in question is at this moment in prison at Madrid. It appears that he came from Rio Janeiro to Lisbon, and thence proceeded to Spain somewhere about the commencement of 1825. He gave himself out as an agent of Francia, and also of the (now dowager) queen of Portugal, sister of the king of Spain. At this time he is known to have had the command of considerable sums of money, and it does not seem to be ascertained from what quarter he obtained his supplies; but it is considered certain, that his pretence of a political commission from the abovementioned personages was entirely apocryphal. Upon arriving in Spain, he immediately attached himself to the Apostolic party, and engaged in the conspiracy fomented by the clergy in the autumn of 1825, which ended in the premature explosion of Bessières. He was found to be deeply committed by the discoveries made on this occasion, and was put under arrest. A few weeks after the suppression of the plot, as our readers will recollect, a revolution occurred in the Spanish cabinet in favor of the party which contrived it; and the Duke del Infantado was appointed secretary of state. The proceedings against the persons implicated in the conspiracy were immediately stopped, and among the rest our adventurer was set at liberty. He appears, however, to have contracted a sort of attachment for the place of his confinement, for he continued, by an arrangement with the jailor, to retain his lodgings in the prison, and resided there, though at liberty, for several months. During this period, the succession of paragraphs alluded to by our authors in the above extract were published in the French papers, having been undoubtedly written and sent on by him from Madrid. In one of these, he declared, as the latest news from Paraguay, that Francia had abdicated in his favor, and that he was, at the moment of writing, supreme and perpetual dictator of that country. The Spanish government, aware, no

doubt, of the origin of this intelligence, now thought it time to interfere. The personage in question being still at his lodgings in the jail, they directed the keeper to turn the key upon him, and *un beau matin* he found himself again under arrest. He is now on trial for forging the signature of the Queen of Portugal, and may think himself fortunate if the affair end with nothing worse than confinement for life. It is understood that this adventurer has never even visited Paraguay. His real name is Fort, and not, as above described, Le Fort; but he also lays claim to two or three others. He pretends to be a descendant from Sebastian Cabot, and in order to give himself some appearance of connexion with individuals in Paraguay who are known abroad, he also assumes the name of Yegros, one of the principal Creole families, which has been repeatedly mentioned in this article. His style and title, as written out by himself at full length, are as follows, *Don J. A. Fort de Yegros y Cabot, Marques de Guarany.* This last name, as our readers are aware, is that of one of the principal tribes of Indians inhabiting the territory of Paraguay, but is not known there as the designation of any particular family.

ART. VII.—1. *A View of West Florida.* By JOHN LEE WILLIAMS. With a Map. Philadelphia. 1827.

2. *Letters of the Hon. J. M. WHITE, Delegate of the Territory of Florida.*

3. *Answers of DAVID B. M'COMB, Esq., with an accompanying Letter of General LAFAYETTE.* Tallahassee.

THE country which bears the beautiful name of *Florida*, has been the theme of numerous writers, and the scene of many adventures, since the discovery of America. The shores of the Gulf of Mexico, lying opposite the islands of Cuba and St Domingo, would naturally be the first points of discovery on the continent. Hence the discovery of the coast of Florida, and that of New Spain, were almost simultaneous, and in consequence, North America was at first designated by these two names alone. The name of Florida, however, was gradually confined to a narrower space, by the French settlements in Canada, and by the successive establishments of the British